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AKEL'S PAPAIOANNOU DEFINES PARTY POLICIES

Nicosia KHARAVGI in Greek 12 Sep 79 pp 1, 5 NC

[Speech delivered by AKEL Secretary General Papaioannou to party cadres and members in Paphos on 8 Sep and in Nicosia on 11 Sep 79]

[Test] The decision of the president of the Republic to postpone the contemplated government reshuffle until after the debate on the Cyprus question at the UN General Assembly has averted, at least temporarily, a most serious political crisis that would have broken out with unpredictable consequences for the people and the country.

No!, of course, because the president does not have the right to reshuffle the government, if he deems it necessary--or because some people, for personal reasons, would like some ministers ousted--but because the character, that certain circles outside Cyprus and the government had sought and pressured the reshuffle to take on, denoted a change of policy in reactionary directions.

These circles which for a long time now have been waging a campaign directed by imperialism to split the patriotic, democratic forces with the fraudulent slogan "AKEL must stop playing a regulating role in the political life of the country," these same circles, with the contemplated reshuffle, took aim at the president of the state himself and the liberation struggle of the Cyprus people; they took aim at Cyprus itself.

They had essentially sought to make the president of the Republic a prisoner, to trap him and, at a later stage, carry out a political coup that in substance would not have differed from the fascist coup of 15 July 1974.

These have been, and still are, the aims and objectives of the circles of reaction and anomaly who have contracted the task of splitting the patriotic, democratic forces of the people. For these circles the replacement of some progressive, democratic ministers would be the first serious step in the direction of their real target which is none other than the overthrow of the president of the Republic himself and the fulfillment of the reactionary, antipopular political coup.

The circles of anomaly and anticommunism, directed by imperialism, counterpoise the class position of "unity of the right" to the patriotic stand of unity of the patriotic, democratic forces of the people. They counterpoise the purging of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces to the demand of the people for substantive purging and punishment of the criminal, putschist elements that led this country to slaughter, eviction, captivity, tragedy and the Turkish occupation, that is--to national disaster.

For these circles the reshuffle of the government is nothing but an opportunity to promote the policy of compromise with imperialism, the policy of submissiveness, class hatred, polarization, serving only the interests of the most implacable enemies of Cyprus.

However, in addition to these circles openly propagandizing their aims and objectives, there are others operating behind the scenes and also playing a reactionary role in the question of the reshuffle and the "unity of the right." Yet they do not have the courage to say so to the people but prefer to hide behind slogans about unity and other allegedly "above-party" high-sounding proclamations. Fortunately, or unfortunately for them, our country is a small one and it is not easy for someone to hide their face behind their hands.

The danger of a most serious political crisis breaking out, with unpredictable consequences for our people and their cause, has been temporarily averted by the correct decision of the president of the Republic to postpone the reshuffle. It has been temporarily averted thanks to the spontaneous mobilization of the patriotic, democratic forces and the positive role played by AKEL and other patriotic, democratic forces.

Contrary to all that has been written in the newspapers of the putschists and of reaction, these forces helped the president of the state to postpone the reshuffle so that wiser counsel may prevail.

The patriotic, democratic forces of the people with AKEL in the lead see the reshuffle not as a measure for the prevalence of the reactionary forces but as a means for the prevalence of the popular verdict on the basis of the approved and proclaimed line and tactics for the solution of the Cyprus issue. Moreover, AKEL has for a long time seen, and continues to see, the need to form a political, representative government--always on the basis of the political line and tactics for the solution of the Cyprus issue as endorsed by the National Council and Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of the late President Makarios in March 1977. Such a government would have at its disposal the greatest possible stature and political weight both at home and internationally. And this is precisely what is needed and is more than anything else in the interest of the cause of Cyprus.

The danger of a most serious political crisis being created through the reshuffle, which the reactionary circles outside Cyprus and the government had sought to realize, has been temporarily averted but not been foiled.

Because it should be seen as a certainty that these circles are not about to give up. At the next opportunity they will once more attempt to achieve what they failed to do, thanks to the admirable vigilance and spontaneous reaction of the people.

In order to definitely foil a reactionary political coup such as the one being sought by Cypriot and non-Cypriot reactionary circles, and in order to save Cyprus and open the road for the removal of all foreign troops and achieve true independence, it is imperative:

a) That the patriotic, democratic forces of the people rally in solid unity and on the basis of the correct line and tactics for the solution of the Cyprus issue as approved by the National Council and the Council of Ministers in March 1977 under the chairmanship of Archbishop Makarios. This is of tremendous, decisive importance. Life itself has shown that one cannot toy with the line and tactics of the struggle and not scorch and enslave the rest of Cyprus as well.

Some people behave towards others as instructors of patriotism and democracy. They treat them as teachers treat elementary school pupils. They think that with figures of speech and haughty exhortations they can deceive and mislead.

But the Cypriot people, these magnificent and incorruptible people, need no lessons in militancy and patriotism from anyone. Because they have proved that they are both fighters and patriots, the Cypriot people are a politically mature people that have learned a lot from personal experience. And when people talk to them about the need for solid unity their answer is always yes. It is quite natural for them of course, to wonder: On the basis of what line and what tactics for the solution of the Cyprus issue and with whom? What is meant--the line and tactics of Makarios, a line that has become common knowledge, that is specific, tangible and speaks of an independent, sovereign, territorially integral, federal, nonaligned and demilitarized Cyprus--with tactics of struggle for the all-sided internationalization of the Cyprus issue in the political sector--with an intercommunal dialog for the solution of the internal aspect of the Cyprus question, an international conference within the framework of the United Nations for the settlement of the international aspect of the question--and with defense shielding in the military sector--or is it with double enosis which essentially means the immediate or future total conquest of Cyprus by Turkey, with adventurous tactics of struggle that totally ignore the balance of power in the military sector?

It is quite natural for the Cypriot people, who have suffered so much and continue to suffer from the treacherous line and tactics of the putschists, not to want to be led to total disaster. And the circles that are pressuring for a reactionary reshuffle of the government are either putschists, pro-Natoites and those who advocate submission, who want to turn Cyprus into a NATO domain so long as a blow is struck at the patriotic, democratic forces of the people, or supporters of the line for double enosis with the

self-delusion that such a solution is better than a truly independent federal Cyprus. Both these lines and tactics for the solution of the Cyprus issue lead to the complete destruction of Cyprus.

The sole correct line and tactics for the solution of the Cyprus issue are those endorsed by the National Council and the Council of Ministers in March 1977 under the chairmanship of Archbishop Makarios and any deviation from this line and tactics will prove fatal for Cyprus.

We steadfastly believe that the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people if not all of them, support this line and tactics, and that the best, the most impenetrable armor against all the conspiracies of imperialism and reaction, against all the open and secret enemies of Cyprus, is the unity of all the patriotic, democratic forces of the people without exception on the basis of this correct line and tactics of struggle.

AKEL is always open to sincere cooperation on the basis of this policy. It will, however, simultaneously resist with all its power any attempt, no matter from what source, to alter this correct line and tactics of struggle. It will resist because it steadfastly believes, and life itself has proved this, that any other line and tactics of struggle, no matter how revolutionary they may appear, essentially leads to defeat and total enslavement. The AKEL is never about to share responsibility for the total destruction of this country. So let there be undeviating persistence on the correct line and tactics of struggle, joint mobilization and self-mobilization and unity of the patriotic democratic forces of the people but on the basis of this line and tactics--not with the putschists and the pro-Natoites and those who advocate submission.

b) At last it is imperative that the state machinery and the security bodies of the Republic be purged and cleansed of all those elements that played an active role during the criminal juntaist coup on 15 July 1974. We regret that we are obliged to say that the government has been inconsistent on this serious question. It has repeatedly declared that it was going to conduct a purge, that it was going to take strict measures against those who illegally possess arms, that it was going to take to court all those who were accused of committing crimes before and during the fascist coup. However, few things have been done--not to say that nothing at all has been done.

The murderers of Kostas Misioulis are still free although the legal department of the government has eight signed statements by eyewitnesses who speak of specific persons that we mentioned in the House of Representatives, which has unanimously asked that these persons be arrested and tried.

The purge and cleansing on the basis of legislation approved by the house have made no progress and have actually degenerated. The very few sentences that have been passed are ridiculous and expose us in the eyes of the world and official opinion.

The serious government warnings that strict measures would be taken against those who illegally possess arms has proved to be a farce.

Although the criminal coupists and those who insist on illegally possessing arms have not been punished, although there has been no purge of those elements that contributed to the capture and occupation of 40 percent of the Cyprus territory by Attila, the coupists and in general the reactionary circles demand a purge of the few democratic and progressive ministers in order to strike at the people's patriotic and democratic forces.

Those who should have been at the dock because of the absurd crimes they have committed against the Cypriot people, so that they might be punished accordingly, those who should bow their heads and feel ashamed all their lives and who should ask for forgiveness from the betrayed Cypriot people who are being harshly tried, are so impudent and insolent as to accuse others, to insult and threaten the people's patriotic democratic forces.

The corrupted coupists are so insolent that they again move as they did before their horrible crime in order to complete their macabre task. They insult and slander AKEL and the other patriotic democratic forces of the people and they are again paid to wage a guided anticommunist campaign.

Their goal is to disrupt, by means of the government reshuffle, the patriotic democratic forces of the people, to weaken the position of the president of the Republic and to proceed with the implementation of their Satanic criminal plans which are nothing more than the plans of imperialism and in general of the enemies of Cyprus.

We already face a new imperialist conspiracy. This time, the aim of the conspiracy is to completely enslave Cyprus. In order to crush it, it is imperative to strike first at its tools, the coupists, those who are again lifting their heads and who have drawn courage from the fact that they have not yet been punished for their horrible and ghastly crimes against Cyprus.

The government cannot free itself of any responsibility for this state of affairs. Its inconsistency, the fact that it did not carry out a purge has emboldened these elements to become active again. The people demand that the government honor its declarations about the purge and the punishment of the criminal coupists, and they will intensify their struggle to achieve this. They will not do so out of revenge but as an essential measure of security for the people and the liberation struggle they are waging. We would be acting irresponsibly and would be unworthy of the people's confidence if we also closed our eyes--just as some other circles have unfortunately done--and, by invoking unity, allowed the preparation of a fresh and much worse crime against Cyprus. The responsibilities of the government will be terrible if it continues to turn a deaf ear to the popular demand for purge and cleansing, with the belief that it is thus promoting the people's unity. But how is this unity to be achieved--with the gravediggers of the Cypriot people or with those who opened the gates of Cyprus to Attila or with the criminals

and traitors? This will not be unity but submission to the fifth column of the enemy who is within our ranks. Such a unity would definitely lead to a total catastrophe for Cyprus.

As for those circles who pretend to stand above parties, they had better explain to the people their unacceptable stand; although they do not say even one word about the purge they insist on treating alike the coupists and the democrats, the perpetrators and the victims. The least one can say about such a stand is that it is an insult to the people's patriotic and democratic forces and is rejected with disgust.

Democracy is being threatened and exploited by the reactionary forces and the coupists who are tools of these forces. Democracy is being threatened and exploited by those who took up arms against it, against its elected President Makarios, by those who have brought Attila here and have amassed so many sufferings for the Cypriot people. The people, their organizations and parties are vigilantly guarding democracy; they have proved this by their attitude.

Therefore let this stampede stop. The perpetrators and the victims cannot be treated alike. The purge must be carried out so that Cyprus and its giant liberation struggle may be safeguarded.

c) It is imperative that Greek and Turkish Cypriots achieve rapprochement and create a climate of mutual confidence within which--along with the other efforts--a constructive intercommunal dialog be held in order to resolve the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem.

AKEL and the people's organizations have worked and are still working sincerely and consistently for this. The contacts that have already taken place between representatives of trade unions from the two sides have brought about positive results. We favor expanding these contacts and holding them systematically because we strongly believe that in this way we help strike at chauvinism, suspicion and the lack of confidence in general that poison relations between the two communities. Thus we actually pull the rug from under the feet of the enemies of Cyprus and create the conditions for a joint struggle against imperialism and foreign occupation.

The democratic, progressive Turkish Cypriots have been intensely active in attempting to reach an understanding and to establish cooperation with the Greek Cypriots on the basis of a really independent, united, federal, non-aligned and demilitarized Cyprus. These forces are struggling under extremely difficult and adverse conditions for the same things that we ourselves are struggling.

The democratic, progressive Turkish Cypriots are being oppressed, slandered and even threatened by the chauvinistic and reactionary forces, yet they

are continuing their struggle with the certainty that they are on the right path and that in this way they are serving the true interests of the Turkish Cypriot community and of the Cypriot people as a whole.

The policy for a rapprochement of Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a true anti-imperialist, liberation, revolutionary policy and those who scoff at it in any way, scrupulously or unscrupulously, are fanning imperialism and Turkish occupation.

We have been described by some as naive because of our efforts for a rapprochement of Greek and Turkish Cypriots and for the creation of a climate of sincere friendship and cooperation; it has been argued that this does not help resolve our problem. These are the very same circles that pretend that we have never had differences with the Turkish Cypriots.

With their statements, these circles become the object of exploitation by the chauvinists of both sides, to the great pleasure of the common enemies of the Cypriot people. AKEL has been declaring everyday that our real unbridged difference is with imperialism and with the Turkish occupation; however, these circles completely forget imperialism. These circles are concerned only about the Turkish occupation and disregard the imperialists who boss our country. They disregard or want to disregard the fact that the existence of Turkish occupation is due to the imperialist quarters that have inspired, organized and financed the dual aggression against Cyprus by means of the fascist juntaist coup and the Turkish invasion. And it is not "the interest of the great" as some people are in the habit of saying that brought about the coup and the invasion, but the strategic and monopolistic interests of the NATO imperialists, who are headed by the U.S. imperialists.

With the Turkish Cypriots we have common interests and common struggles. However, imperialism, which is the common enemy of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, has skillfully managed to exploit chauvinism on both sides in order to create differences. By saying that "we have never had differences with the Turkish Cypriots" we are not contributing to mutual understanding and cooperation. Both EOKA B and TMT, as well as other chauvinistic elements on both sides, are blamed for many crimes which they have committed and which have been exploited by imperialism in order to create enmity, hatred and mistrust. Imperialism has also taken advantage of some wrong actions by both sides in order to claim what it has always sought: that the Cyprus problem is not a dispute between Cyprus and imperialism, a foreign power, but a dispute between the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus. This is what the chauvinistic, terrorist, fascist elements on both sides have actually succeeded in achieving by means of their criminal activities.

At this point we must say that last August Cyprus ran fresh deadly dangers because of the adventure that was planned by imperialist organs on both sides. They spoke and continue to speak of fresh bloodshed--an "arranged" bloodshed--that would provide the opportunity for double enosis. We warn the

hotheaded, whoever or wherever they might be, that these long-suffering people will no longer condone any adventurism or "arranged" bloodshed, will no longer condone anyone playing with their fate as the gambler plays with his dice.

We will not hesitate to unmask and even name anyone, regardless of his position, who speaks and acts in a way that promotes adventurism. This place has suffered enough as a result of adventurous activities in the past. It has suffered enough as a result of irresponsible activities.

When AKEL speaks about defense organization it means that we must be prepared to face a surprise attack by the enemy so that the enemy attack may not be a mere walk as was the case in August 1974: a purely defensive tactic. AKEL does not imply or favor any adventurism that would result in the complete occupation of Cyprus by Turkey.

We view the rapprochement and mutual understanding between the Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus as a shield of defense because both sides will be able to keep watch over any plans for adventurism.

There is much room for a multifaceted development of this policy, provided any chauvinistic trends or influences are hit decisively and provided we thoroughly examine the real meaning of this policy. By pretending that there are no differences with the Turkish Cypriots we simply back the chauvinists and the intransigent in their task.

It is the duty of the government to study the problem of rapprochement deeply and broadly and to take all those practical and imperative measures in order to achieve the favorable result that we are seeking. Along with the government, the parties and organizations can and must work out practical ways or contact with corresponding Turkist Cypriot organizations, by always aiming at the creation of a climate of mutual confidence and understanding. In our opinion this is a genuine patriotic, anti-imperialist policy with real liberation content.

d) Our internal front will never be really strong enough to crush the Satanic plans : the enemies of Cyprus on the anvil of real patriotic, democratic unity of the people, if the numerous economic and financial problems of the people are not faced with all the necessary care and determination.

There are many unresolved refugee problems that must be solved without further delay or postponement. The most important of these problems are the housing problem, problems of employment and so forth.

Many peasants living in mountainous areas live poorly because their income from agriculture is unbelievably low. The plan for the development of Pitsilia, which should have been expanded in order to include other financially backward areas of Cyprus, is still delayed and the inhabitants of the villages included in the plan have been rightly saying that this is a useless gift.

Hundreds of Cypriot university graduates are unemployed and are obliged to do manual work in order to earn their living or emigrate in order to find employment. This force of university graduates is very important capital for Cyprus and the government has an inviolable duty to properly utilize it for the benefit of the country.

The great rise in the cost of living has already noticeably affected the living standard of those with low income. It is imperative that measures be taken to control prices, particularly the prices of drugs and medicine, chemicals, agricultural machinery and spare parts, as well as the prices of other basic commodities. It is imperative to take measures in order to strike at profiteering; to take measures to further increase our agricultural and industrial income by means of decisive state intervention; to take measures to increase our exports and to confine our imports to what we absolutely need; to safeguard and develop our exchange reserves.

The policy of fair distribution of economic burdens and of fair distribution and redistribution of national income must become a reality by means of the implementation of practical measures that will bring about the aspired result. There should be increase in social insurance grants. It is time for the implementation of the state plan for free medical and pharmaceutical treatment, free education must be expanded. Low wages and incomes must be increased. There should be higher taxation on high incomes and great profits. Wealth must be taxed. The huge property owned by the church and the monasteries must be properly utilized in order to give relief to the refugees, the relatives of missing persons, and to raise the standard of living of poor peasants.

The measures suggested by AKEL in its 2-year programs for economic development are both reasonable and applicable. For this reason we insist that the government adopt them for practical implementation.

With the implementation of the economic measures suggested by AKEL in its 2-year programs the economy of Cyprus will be protected against inflationary pressures and a stable upward course will be secured, along with a fair distribution of the economic burdens and a fair distribution and redistribution of national income.

The question of our association with the European Economic Community must be seriously considered by the government. Life itself has proved beyond doubt that our association, particularly the prospects for our integration as a full member of the Common Market, is not only economically detrimental because it will enslave our economy to the monopolistic monsters of the West but is also politically incompatible with the nonaligned foreign policy that we are following.

We must disengage ourselves from the EEC as soon as possible and sign a trade agreement with it, just as other nonaligned countries have done, and just as we have also done with other countries.

Dear comrades: I would say that the Cyprus problem is at a difficult, delicate and dangerous phase. The NATO imperialists, headed by the United States, are plotting to eliminate the independent state of Cyprus and to covert all Cyprus into a springboard for adventurous and aggressive activities against neighboring people.

The warlike circles of imperialist countries, the circles which have economic interests in the arms races, have been trying to destroy the climate created by the historic Helsinki Final Act and the SALT II agreement, and have been trying by all means to bring back the cold war and to finally push mankind to the abyss of a World War III—which this time will be a thermonuclear war.

In their effort the imperialists are enjoying the wholehearted support of the Chinese leadership, which long ago betrayed socialist ideals and has definitely crossed over to the imperialist camp. Judging particularly from the recent criminal aggression against the martyr Vietnam, which has been unrivaled in heroism, and from the preparations for fresh aggressive activities against the countries of Southeast Asia, the Chinese leadership constitutes today the international vanguard of imperialism during its fight against the people struggling for national independence, social progress and socialism.

The abject treacherous Chinese leadership is today the best ally of imperialism against all the people who are struggling for their freedom, and against our own people. Thanks to the support of the Chinese leadership, imperialism and its tools have managed to loose and undermine the liberation struggles of the Arabs and other peoples, including our own people. Thanks to support from the Chinese leadership, imperialism is still able to maintain dictatorial regimes, to fiercely exploit and oppress other people.

In order to realize the really invaluable services that the Chinese leadership is giving imperialism, it is enough to think for a moment what the world situation would have been today if People's China had cast its weight in favor of the countries of the socialist community and the nonaligned countries, instead of what it is actually doing, siding with the imperialists and the most reactionary fascist regimes of the world.

If People's China closely cooperated with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, if it cooperated with the nonaligned countries, not only would imperialism have been unable to do what it is doing today in Cyprus and elsewhere, but it would have taken off its hands and peace, social progress and socialism would have prevailed in the world.

However, even with the Chinese leadership as an ally of imperialism and of international fascist reaction, the forces of national liberation, the democratic forces, the forces of social progress and of socialism have been winning resounding victories in the world everyday. Recent examples are Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua and other countries in Africa and Asia.

With the alliance of Chinese leadership, imperialism is still in a position to delay the course of many people toward democracy, freedom and social progress; however, it cannot turn back the wheel of history. The peoples will advance and will overcome all obstacles in their way, because this is an inviolable law.

The old, the rotten, the obsolete is succeeded by the new, the healthy, the viable.

The Cyprus problem, we said, is going through a delicate and critical phase. This is because imperialism fosters the intransigent Turkish reaction. This is so because imperialism seeks to eliminate the independent state of Cyprus. This is because imperialism wants Cyprus as a NATO aircraft carrier and missile base.

Those who insist on talking about "the two superpowers," those who insist on the same treatment of the Soviet Union and the United States in connection with the Cyprus problem or any other international problem, must know that they insult the Soviet Union in a most deplorable way. The Soviet Union with its consistent support has so far averted the dissolution of the independent state of Cyprus and its complete enslavement to Turkey and imperialism. Beyond this, those people are shamelessly lying and undermining the support that Cyprus is enjoying from its really consistent and unselfish friends.

The Soviet Union has everywhere and always supported the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. It supports the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the full demilitarization of Cyprus. It supports the return of the refugees to their homes and property, the tracing of the fate of all missing persons, and the solution of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem through intercommunal talks and of its external aspect by an international conference within the UN framework.

The Soviet Union has been supporting all this at the United Nations, at bilateral talks and at other international congresses and conferences.

However, the United States, which has organized and financed the double aggression against Cyprus, not only does not support what the Soviet Union supports regarding Cyprus but also opposes all this at the United Nations and either votes against it or observes a guilty stand of abstention. Until today, the United States has refused to accept repeated Soviet proposals for joint action to implement the UN Cyprus resolutions. Who could have any doubt that if the United States had accepted the Soviet proposal, the Cyprus problem would not have been solved a long time ago? How then can the known anti-Soviet circles equally blame the two superpowers? Instead of studying and exchanging views on the best way of utilizing the Soviet Union's unselfish support, we become ungrateful by not appreciating the most valuable Soviet help and support.

It is evident from events that we shall have to appeal again to the UN General Assembly and to seek the international organization's help to implement its Cyprus resolutions. This is because the Turkish leadership's intransigence is continuing, and despite the Kyprianou-Denktaş 19 May agreement Denktaş actually insists on two separate states, on a status of confederation and not of federation. Denktaş' unacceptable demands, which are being encouraged by the chauvinistic and reactionary circles of Ankara and imperialism, allow us to seek again the help of the United Nations, which must exercise greater and more decisive pressure for the implementation of the UN resolutions.

We had significant support at the Lusaka conference. The support for Cyprus at the nonaligned summit conference in Havana has been general; the resolution by the nonaligned conference will affect the resolution that will be approved by the UN General Assembly this year. We neither overestimate nor underestimate the value of these resolutions. However, we would be making a very serious mistake if we, like some people, discarded the value of the resolutions and failed to see how we could better utilize these resolutions.

For us, a decision to convene an international conference within the UN framework in order to deal with the Cyprus problem--particularly its international aspect, as proposed by the Soviet Union in August 1974--would be of great, of very great importance. Even the second Soviet proposal that has been made since then for the dispatch to Cyprus of a Security Council delegation in order to see and study on the spot the implementation of the UN resolutions is most timely and must be promoted. Other measures of exerting pressure through the United Nations for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem should also be studied.

However, we would be making a disastrous mistake if we discarded the international dialog, as some people are doing, by arguing that it constitutes an illusion and that we encourage our people with hallucinations. This is so because the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem will be solved by the Cypriots--Greeks and Turks--and not by foreigners. If we allow the foreigners and particularly the imperialist element to solve the internal aspect of our problem then we would deserve our fate.

There is no way other than intercommunal dialog to solve the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem, and it is exactly then that we would encourage the people with illusions and hallucinations and would lead them to destruction if we cultivated among them the idea that it would be possible to solve the Cyprus problem in any other way. The international conference on Cyprus would obviously help the intercommunal dialog; the same goes for pressures in general that could be exerted internationally. However, we would be truly irresponsible destroyers of our people and country if we led them to an adventure identical to that which some circles on both sides were preparing last month.

AKEL's firm and unchanging stand toward the solution of the Cyprus problem is: Cyprus must become and must remain truly independent, sovereign, territorially integral, federated and demilitarized. The Turkish and all the foreign troops must leave our country; the bases must be dissolved and Cyprus must be completely demilitarized. All refugees must voluntarily return to their homes and property and all missing persons must be traced. We reject both double enosis and the partitioning of Cyprus. The enosis issue no longer exists and the Turkish-Cypriots must be sure of this.

In order to achieve the solution we are seeking, we must strengthen to the maximum our state unity; set aside whatever tends to weaken it in any way; achieve the unity of all patriotic democratic forces of the people on the basis of the correct line of the struggle; bring about a rapprochement with the Turkish-Cypriots; exert all possible pressures through the United Nations; always keep open the door of the intercommunal dialog on the basis of the Makarios-Denktas and the Kyprianou-Denktas agreements; work for and secure support for an international conference within a UN framework that will study the international aspect of the Cyprus problem. We must make up our mind that it is by means of the mass peaceful struggle that we will solve the Cyprus problem and simultaneously take every precaution for a defensive shield which would mean just that--and not any irresponsible adventurism.

In order to succeed in what we seek regarding the solution of the Cyprus problem, above all we need a politically representative government and definitely not a reshuffle with a reactionary line.

Our party will struggle for everything that we have mentioned and will seek always the close cooperation of all the patriotic democratic forces of the people. Faithful to the people and their cause, AKEL will worthily meet the people's expectations.

CSO: 4908

MILITARY MANPOWER NEEDS, FEMALE SOLDIERS DISCUSSED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Aug 79 pp 33-34

[Excerpts] Women soldiers will not serve in the Federal Armed Forces before the 1990's, if at all, and not under arms.

Karl Wilhelm Berhan, Bundestag defense expert, still cannot understand it. "If I had known that," he groaned when his co-workers told him on the telephone what a whirlwind he had stirred up with his statement on military duty for women.

Berkhan, who is on first-name terms with the head of the government, was talking with an old acquaintance on the terrace of his vacation home on the Brahmsee in Holstein a few weeks ago about the future of the Federal Armed Forces. Georg Dornhof, former Hamburg police reporter and now the Bonn correspondent of the newspaper BILD, wanted to know why there was no compulsory military service for women.

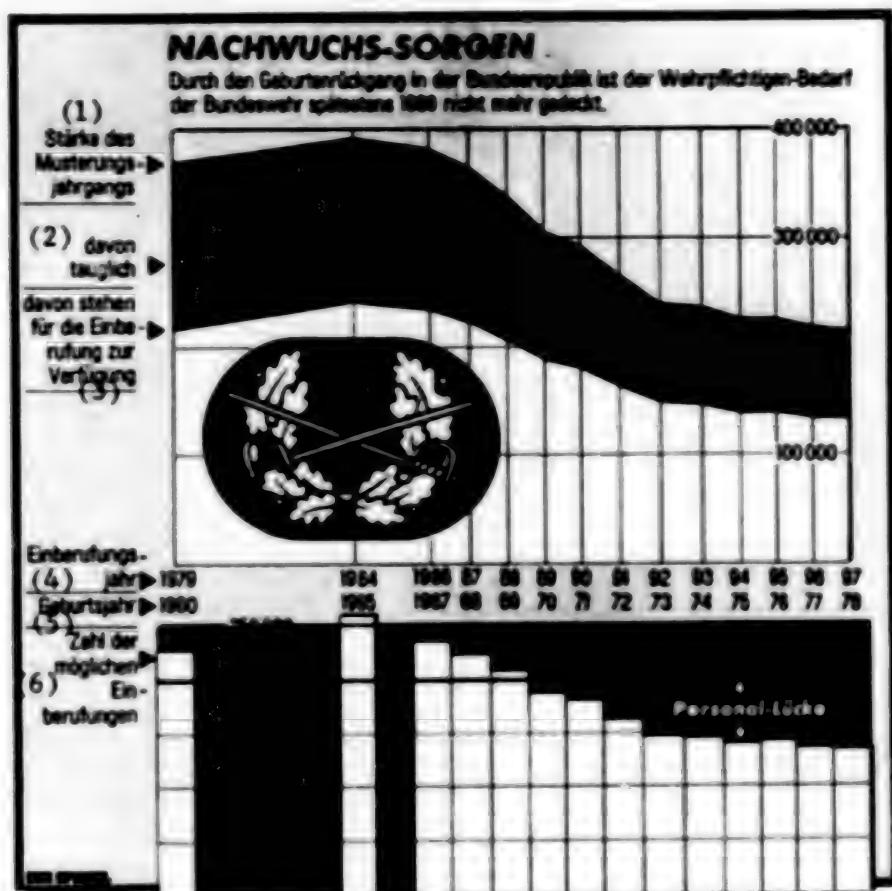
Berkhan answered bravely but truthfully, "For the 1990's parliament may have to concern itself with a constitutional amendment, so that women, too, can have military training. Because of the low birth-rate years there will no longer be enough conscripts then."

But it will be some time before that happens, since for the time being there are more men subject to conscription than the armed forces want. It will be 10 years before the military planners have to think of something new, because thanks to the effects of the pill in the 1960's the annual requirement of 200,000 to 250,000 recruits will no longer be met at that time.

Past experience has shown that 25 percent of each year's conscripts are unfit, and another 13 percent cannot be drafted--those who either become career soldiers or enlist for a specific term of service, those who serve in the police, fire department, border guard, or civil defense, and those who refuse military service.

The Ministry of Defense has been concerned with the problem for a long time. Hans Apel, the minister of defense, when asked by his 19-year-old daughter

Ingrid why women could not become soldiers, asked for an expert opinion on the subject last fall, and thus started a public discussion (see SPIEGEL, No 46, 1978).



Manpower Worries. Because of the decline of the birthrate in the Federal Republic, by 1989 at the latest the Federal Armed Forces' draft requirements will no longer be met.

- 1) Number reaching draft age
- 2) Number of these fit for duty
- 3) Number of these available for conscription
- 4) Call-up year
- 5) Year of birth
- 6) Number of possible conscripts
- 7) Maximum needs of the Federal Armed Forces
- 8) Minimum needs of the Federal Armed Forces
- 9) Manpower gap

Apel has since said, "In this legislative term nothing more will be done," and the Ministry of Defense official in charge of covering manpower requirements has been studying what effects the declining birth rate will have on

the military forces. In the new defense white paper it is stated with gem-like clarity that the minister "is having decision models developed to solve this problem."

There are many possible solutions: raising the period of military duty from 15 to 18 months, tightening draft criteria, restricting possibilities of avoiding military service, drafting sons of foreign workers who apply for German citizenship.

Only if these measures should not succeed might women perhaps bring the Federal Armed Forces up to strength. In that case it would not be a question of conscription, which would require a constitutional amendment with a 2/3 majority, but of volunteer service without arms, but in uniform.

The German generals can readily picture a woman as a radio operator, telephone operator, air or ground plane crew member or pilot, or as a medic. The Federal Armed Forces already employ 46,840 women in civilian clothes, and 40 women physicians are serving in uniform. The armed forces have found that many of these girls who are writing and phoning would be quite willing to volunteer to be fitted out with a neat uniform in order to take advantage of the armed forces' generous professional benefits.

Of those stating their positions, Franz Josef Strausz, Union candidate for chancellor, appeared to be unimpressed by such facts. He tersely declared all of the federal government's reflections on the matter to be "wretched rubbish." He, too, would like to see young women mingling with the soldiers --not, of course, to become recruits, but to bear recruits.

Instead of "hatching out absurd ideas," Strausz says, the federal government ought to "provide for a broad population base by a morally and materially active family policy."

5588

CSO: 3103

FRANCE

BRIEFS

DEFENSE BUDGET INCREASE--In 1980, the French defense budget will be increased by approximately 15 percent, to a total of 88.6 billion francs. Operating funds will amount to 48 billion francs (up 11 percent over 1979), whereas equipment funds will rise to 40 billion francs (up 19.5 percent). Funds for authorized military projects will increase to 52.5 billion francs (up 22.4 percent). These government proposals will be submitted to the National Assembly in the fall when the Planning Law is updated. [Text] [Paris DEFENSE CONJONCTURE in French 31 Aug 79 p 3]

CSO: 3100

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH LIBYA

Athens Domestic Service in Greek 0400 GMT 12 Sep 79 AT

[Text] The protocol for technical and economic cooperation between Greece and Libya that was signed yesterday by Minister of Coordination Mitsotakis and Libya's Minister of Planning Furaywah provides for Libyan oil to Greece, significant commercial exchanges, and cooperation between the two countries in many other sectors.

Generally, the new agreement provides for the following: It confirms the supply of crude oil from Libya which this year will amount to 500,000 tons and over the next 5 years beginning in 1980 will amount to 3 million tons per year. Libya will supply Greece with 120,000 tons of ammonia per year and the possibility will be studied for establishing a joint plant for the production of fertilizer. The protocol also provides for a significant increase in commercial exchanges between the two countries, which, as has been stressed, are developing in a splendid manner. They currently are almost \$400 million per year.

It was also agreed that joint enterprises and investments be formed while other sectors for cooperation are studied, especially in agriculture, industry and tourism.

Finally, the protocol provides for the establishment of a joint company for the production and trade of agricultural produce, the establishment of a maritime line between Libya, Crete and Piraeus, and an agreement for cooperation in the field of sponge fishing which will come into force next year.

Both Mitsotakis and Furaywah expressed satisfaction at the signing of the protocol and stressed their conviction that friendship and cooperation between the two peoples will continue in the future.

CSO: 4908

KARAMANLIS ACCEPTS INVITATION TO VISIT LIBYA

Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1830 GMT 7 Sep 79 AT

[Text] An invitation from Libyan leader Colonel al-Qadhdhafi asking Prime Minister Konstandinos Karamanlis to visit Libya was presented to the prime minister today by Libyan secretary for planning, Musa Ahmad abu Furaywah. The invitation was accepted and the date will be set through diplomatic channels.

The Libyan secretary also presented Karamanlis with a message from Col al-Qadhdhafi in which he expresses a desire for the greatest possible expansion of cooperation between the two countries.

Questions of interest to the two countries were discussed during the meeting between Karamanlis and the Libyan secretary. Coordination Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, Greek ambassador to Libya Megaloikononou and the director of the prime minister's political office, Ambassador Moliviatis attended the meeting.

During a meeting between the Libyan Minister and Trade Minister Panayiotopoulos it was decided that the list of products exchanged between Greece and Libya should be expanded. This list which will be included in the protocol to be signed tomorrow at the coordination ministry will add tobacco, agricultural tools, electrical equipment, furniture, pumping equipment and various other industrial goods to the existing list.

The Libyan minister today also conferred with Minister for Industry and Energy Evert with whom he examined prospects of cooperation between the two countries in the establishment of an aluminum unit. They also examined prospects of cooperation in agricultural industries and the provision of crude oil from Libya for 1980.

CSO: 4908

PAPANDREOU ADDRESSES PASOK YOUTH FESTIVAL

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 9 Sep 79 p 11 AT

[Text] Last night, PASOK Chairman Andreas Papandreu spoke at a large gathering of mainly young people at the movement's youth festival. The text of his speech is as follows:

Young men and women, dear friends, I greet the 1979 PASOK Youth Festival with emotion and pride.

The celebration in Athens constitutes the culmination of celebrations all over the country which have received unprecedented public support. I greet our country's youth which is the group most attuned to the national and social problems facing our country and the militant vanguard of our people's struggles for an independent, democratic Greece for Greeks.

This year's youth festival coincides with the fifth anniversary of PASOK.

PASOK is a unique phenomenon in the country's political life because this is the first time that a mass socialist movement has been formed in our country. PASOK is a unique phenomenon in the country's political history for one other reason; the fact that its electoral base has doubled in 3 years. This makes it obvious that PASOK has responded to an historical necessity.

This impressive rise occurred without any deviation from the movement's ideological-political positions. PASOK has consistently remained loyal to basic principles and goals of its charter of 3 September.

The Basic Goals

PASOK's basic long-term goals are summarized in the triad which defines the movement's ideological-political orientation: national independence, popular sovereignty and social liberation of the Greek worker; that is, our society's social transformation.

The achievement of these goals constitutes a unitary historical process: that is, the achievement of any one of the three goals presupposes the achievement of the other two.

The conquest of national independence means for Greece the shedding of the bonds which U.S. imperialism has forged for us within the NATO framework. This means Greece's withdrawal from both the military and the political wings of NATO and the disengagement of our state mechanism, especially the country's armed forces, from foreign decision-making centers.

It also means that Greece should remain outside the EEC, because accession will mean the completion of our country's dependence on the Brussels Directorate and that great national decisions will be made in the West's metropolitan centers, to which, according to Karamanlis' "credo," we "belong."

Finally, the conquest of national independence means the charting of a dynamic independent foreign policy which will aim at guaranteeing our territorial integrity and serving the interests of the Greek people.

In parliamentary democracy, popular sovereignty is not restricted. Parliament constitutes only one expression of popular sovereignty. Furthermore, popular sovereignty demands that the citizen directly participate in decisions which concern him. This means regional decentralization; that is, the strengthening to the maximum degree possible of regional and local self-administration. This will constitute the framework for a democratic planning of social and economic development and mass trade unionist movement which is both politicized and independent.

The social liberation of the workers goes hand in hand with the implementation of our society's socialist transformation. This presupposes the socialization of the financial system, our country's mineral wealth, industrial production units of strategic significance and of the large import and export commerce. It also presupposes the establishment and development of agrarian-industrial cooperatives which will abolish middlemen and significantly increase the agricultural sector's productivity.

The Responsibilities

These principles and goals of the movement's charter defines PASOK as the agent for radical change. Our people, who for decades have suffered the consequences of government by the right, are thirsty for radical change. This explains the mass movement toward the ranks of PASOK.

However, the rapid political rise of PASOK entails immense responsibilities for the movement. At the fifth meeting of the Central Committee decisions were made which aim at strengthening and further organizing the movement. The implementation of these decisions as soon as possible is necessary so that the current movement toward PASOK be changed from an electoral base to a conscious political force. Consequently, PASOK's goal is to make the

party into a mass movement party. By this, we do not only mean the party's quantitative rise but also its qualitative rise: that is, PASOK's ability to effectively intervene in and guide all mass sectors. The development of mass movements in towns and the countryside should intensify because only a strongly built movement can guarantee the march toward change.

Our youth constitute the militant vanguard of PASOK. Our young people, who are directly integrated into the movement, have the same obligations and rights as other PASOK members. PASOK is proud of its youth which are in the vanguard of the new generation's struggle for great change; for our country's social, economic and cultural development outside the framework of dependence; for a development that will correspond to the new generation's desires and expectations; for an education without barriers to knowledge, a democratic education that will be open to all young people.

Our country's students are waging a battle against the anachronistic, reactionary education system that is being promoted by the government of the right. They are fighting against law 815 and law 576. They are fighting for an institutional framework which will open educational horizons so that education may cease to be the privilege of the few and become the sacred right of the new generation.

Our working young people are in the vanguard of the workers' struggles in the fields and construction sites, in factories and offices. They are fighting for better working conditions, better wages, social insurance, and an independent trade unionist movement without guardians. They are fighting against the sovereignty of the monopolies and the multinational companies which restrict unbearably the horizons for a happy and productive life.

Our country's youth are being bombarded by an alien culture and day by day are being severed from the valuable roots of our own cultural tradition. For this reason, it is easy to understand why young people are in the vanguard of the struggle for a new course by our country, a course that will allow them to utilize to the maximum their dynamism and talents.

With their daily struggles, our country's youth give their reply to the reactionary, autocratic and antipopular policy of new democracy.

Expectations Have Not Come True

The fifth anniversary of PASOK coincides with the fifth anniversary of the change in regime. With the junta's fall, our people visualized a new course for our country.

They visualized the state's democratization, the protection of their sovereignty and of their national independence. Finally, they visualized a more just distribution of national income and national wealth.

However, our people's expectations have not come true. The course the government of the right has followed has been diametrically opposed to our people's expectations, the autocratic and single-party state of the right was again built without the purge the people had expected, without the Hellenization of the state machine, without the disengagement of the armed forces from alien-instigated mechanisms.

In the past 5 years, the government's antipopular, unplanned and fickle policy has led the country to an economic deadlock. In this respect, it is forecast that the rise in the cost of living index will approach 25 percent. In comparison with 1974, the drachma will have lost in 1979 more than half its purchasing power. The deficit in the balance of trade of \$1 billion 75 million in 1975 will approach \$2 billion in 1979.

In 1979, the high rate of inflation will strike severely at the working people--workers, salaried people, farmers and pensioners. It will significantly reduce their real income while at the same time profits and real incomes of monopolist complexes and the economic oligarchy will increase.

Last month, the government announced new measures to combat inflation. The principal points of the recent measures are the significant reduction of the rate of increase of national income and the freezing of salaries and wages until the end of 1979. The government will not be able to combat inflation with these new spasmodic measures. It is certain, however, that it will lead the economy to a serious recession. Thus inflation, stagnation in the national income and unemployment will be combined.

The spasmodic way in which the government every now and then announces new measures which contradict previous measures and which the government itself does not implement proves that the government has completely lost control of the economy. The only consistency that characterizes the policy of the new democracy government is the pursuit of a lopsided austerity, of austerity for the working people and luxury for the economic oligarchy.

This is the result of the government's thoughtless financial and monetary policies, its inability to effectively control prices of the local and foreign monopolies, to combat profiteering by middlemen and tax evasion by large capital.

The government is trying to blame the increased cost of oil and of other raw materials that are imported into our country for the high rate of inflation. It is doing so in vain, because the rate of the cost of living increase in Greece is double that of the EEC. The energy crisis--the government's great alibi for the crushing failure of its economic policy--of course is an international reality. However, the energy crisis would not have had such serious repercussions on our country's economy had there been a complete program to utilize local energy sources. So far, the governments of new democracy have not formulated such a program.

The government announced tough measures to save energy without warning, without a dialog with the representatives of the working people. The measures not only are tough, they are contradictory and ineffective.

The measures, like the recent measures against inflation, contribute to inflation, to recession and lead to a radical change in the way of life and work of a great segment of the working people. It is principally our country's working people who will suffer the consequences of inflation, recession and the energy crisis. Inevitably, the working people will mobilize themselves against the policy of lopsided austerity the government of new democracy has charted. For this reason, one of the government's principal goals has been to subjugate, divide, weaken and become the guardian of the country's trade unionist movement because only thus can it protect its anti-popular incomes policy and guarantee the profits of monopolies, foreign and local. To deal with the mobilization of the working people, the government did not hesitate to use every legitimate and illegitimate means. It again resorted to the unacceptable and antidemocratic measure of mobilization. It violated the sanctuary of universities. It manifested a brutal and an unprecedented toughness to dissolve the peaceful gathering at the university campus. Finally, it used the legal trick of "protective measures," thus violating the constitution which protects the right to strike.

In the 5 years that have passed, the government has led national issues to a dangerous deadlock. With accession to the EEC it has put our country on the road toward the completion of its dependence on foreign decision-making centers. Despite our "final and irrevocable" withdrawal from the NATO military wing--as the prime minister stated in September 1974--the new democracy government is negotiating a return to NATO. It is doing this under extortionary and unacceptable conditions which entail the surrender of our country's sovereign rights in the Aegean. The only object of the negotiations is the extent of the concessions Greece will make.

The government persistently refuses to open the Cyprus dossier, thus protecting the culprits of the greatest treason in our nation's history. The policy of conciliation and negotiations and of the tacit acceptance of faits accomplis has emboldened Turkish chauvinism and has led to a dangerous impasse in the course of our national issues.

The government's policy, both internally and externally, has gone bankrupt. This is the opinion of mature people. The message keeps arriving from all parts of the country. There is a general demand that the right abandon power.

New democracy is facing a rapid shrinking of its popular base. The mask of the right has dropped. Its trapped followers--those who belong to the class of the working people--the farmers, workers, salaried people--now see reality. Every day they increasingly realize that the right is the political expression

of the economic oligarchy--local and foreign. In a panic, the right has embarked on a desperate effort to slander PASOK. The right's mouthpieces are deliberately distorting PASOK positions and promoting myths about alleged intraparty conflicts and chaos with PASOK.

We inform them that the democratically organized PASOK, the strongly built PASOK which is firm in its positions, is rapidly preparing to undertake the responsibilities which the Greek people will entrust to it.

In the next elections, we shall contest power so that we may chart a new course for our country--a course that will be socially just and nationally proud, a course that will correspond to the Greek people's expectations, especially in the new generation. Forward, all together for a new Greece, for a Greece that will belong to the Greeks.

CSO: 4908

BRIEFS

PASOK DELEGATION TO LIBYA--A PASOK delegation headed by Ioannis Alevras, the movement's parliamentary representative and A. Tsokhatzopoulos, member of the executive bureau, is due to depart for Tripoli, Libya today. Members of the delegation will be Karolos Papoulias, deputy and member of the Central Committee and of the secretariat of the Committee on International Relations; and M. Kafetzopoulos in charge of affairs for the same committee. The delegation will attend observances on the 10th anniversary of the deposition of King Idris and installation of the Libyan revolution on 1 September in Benghazi. The delegation will also carry a personal message from the chairman of PASOK, Andreas Papandreu. [Text] [Athens TO VIMA in Greek 31 Aug 79 p 10 AT]

LIBYAN MINISTER'S OFFICIAL VISIT--Libyan Minister of Planning Musa Ahmad abu Furaywah arrived in Athens today at 1256 on an official 6-day visit to Greece in return for the visit by Coordination Minister Mitsotakis to Libya last January. The Libyan minister is heading a delegation which will participate in a meeting of the joint interministerial Greek-Libyan committee which will begin at 1900 at the Ministry of Coordination. Prior to the meeting, Furaywah will have a private meeting with Mitsotakis. The issues which the Libyan minister will discuss in Athens and which will occupy the committee concern economic and technical cooperation between the two countries, the energy problem, trade, investments and the operation of joint Greek-Libyan enterprises. The Libyan minister was welcomed at Ellinikon airport by Coordination Minister Mitsotakis; (Ali Mahmoud Maria), secretary general of the people's committee which has assumed authority for Libya's representation in Greece; and other officials. [Text] [Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1120 GMT 5 Sep 79 AT]

COMMENTS ON PAPANDREOU SPEECH--Commenting on A. Papandreu's speech to the party's youth, a government spokesman stated the following: "Again, nothing new. Instead of a government program, which apparently is difficult to come up with, the PASOK chairman, after exhausting himself, devoted himself to dull repetition of his standard slogans. The only new thing seems to be that his dream for a contest for power will finally become his nightmare."

There are two obstacles to the fulfillment of his dream: his program and the people. His program—if an accumulation of slogans can be called a program—is unrealistic, contradictory, outside Greek reality and fickle. The second obstacle, our people, are fortunately mature and responsible." [Text]
[Athens TO VIMA in Greek 9 Sep 79 p 11 AT]

CSO: 4908

PCI'S PROPOSAL TO AID SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 21 Aug 79 p 2

[Article: 'PCI Motion in the Chamber and the Senate--A New Plan To Overcome the Crisis of the Shipyards--Programming the Orders and Development of the Public and Private Fleets--Deadline Set: 30 November Next']

[Text] Rome--The production and employment crisis in the Italian shipyards--a difficult one for some time now--has been getting steadily worse. It is felt especially in the integration fund and in the reduction and distortion of the existing organisms. This crisis is having a negative effect in areas that in many cases have a fragile economic structure, especially in the Mezzogiorno. A gradual deterioration in the quality of the production apparatus in a strategic sector such as shipbuilding, while the Italian fleet's transport capacity remains below the national needs and the deficit in the chartering balance sheet grows worse, is no longer tolerable. The sector plan, prepared by the government and presented to the Chambers in the last legislature, has been judged negatively by the competent parliamentary committees, while the regions and the trade-union organizations have rejected it.

And starting from these premises, the PCI groups have presented to the Chamber and to the Senate a motion which attacks the problem in an organic manner. The motion commits the government on several specific points:

1--to reformulate the sector plan as rapidly as possible, by no later than 30 November next, gathering together the information that has emerged from the parliamentary debate and in the encounter with the trade unions, organizing it in such a way that as regards its industrial part, it link up with law 675 on industrial reconversion, and that in another aspect, it contain precise programming of the orders and therefore of the development of the Italian public and private fleets;

2--to present to Parliament by 15 October 1979 a summary plan which, while the sector plan is awaited, will organize a block of orders relative to the ships needed by Adriatica, Tirrenia, Italia, Lloyd Trieste and the other companies in which the state holds stock, for the new ferries indispensable (at least three of them) to the Italian State Railways, for carrying out its own

tasks and for the special construction for the repair yards; and a block of orders for private shipfitting which the government can acquire through incisive contracting and programming of its action in the sector, and which can have positive effects on ship engine development;

3--to guarantee, by the initiatives necessary, including legislative ones, adequate financing and speed of supply of shipbuilding credit and of the state contributions to the cost of shipbuilding, so as to free the shipyards from the grip of the interest costs and favor their financial liquidity, with precise connections established among these actions, the summary plan, and the sector plan;

4--to verify the carrying-out of law 684 on the restructuring of the national fleet, and to present to the Chambers, by 31 October next, a detailed report on the subject;

5--to present to the Parliament, within the shortest time possible, the finalized proposal for coastal shipping, aimed at making adequate use of the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Adriatic for national transport of goods, which has been under study in the Ministry of Transport for months, in accordance with the indications on which the National Conference on Transport is in agreement;

6--to guarantee that the action and the initiative by the GEPI [expansion unknown], in the shipyards assigned to it, be coherent with the policy and the courses of action stated above, and thereby avoid demobilizing the existing installations in any way and complete the investment program in progress;

7--to undertake rapid and effective initiatives with the EEC in order to guarantee, within its frame of reference, the role of the Italian shipbuilding industry and fleet, and to report to the Parliament, by 15 October, both on the action taken or intended to be taken on this situation, and on the measures to be carried out and on new construction under study, after the substantial shelving of the "Davignon plan."

11267

CSO: 3104

VICE-ADMIRAL VELDKAMP INTERVIEWED ON RNN MISSION

Stuttgart MARINE-RUNDSCHAU in German Feb 79 pp 79-85

[Interview with the VAdm B. Veldkamp by Fleet Adm Rolf Boehe, Ret.:
"The Royal Netherlands Navy"]

[Text] On the basis of the mission, contained in the "Policy Report of the 1979 Defence Budget" of the Netherlands Defense Ministry and reproduced below, the Commander-in Chief of the Royal Netherlands Navy, VAdm B. Veldkamp, gave the following interview to Fleet Adm Rolf Boehe, Ret., our regular contributor.

"The principal mission of the Royal Netherlands Navy lies in the allied defence. It contributes to the prevention of war by means of deterrence and by crisis control at sea, and in the event of aggression, the Navy will take part in securing the Eastern Atlantic, the Channel and the North Sea, across which the principal maritime supply routes to Western Europe and the Netherlands run. It also renders flank support to NATO forces in Europe.

"Also minesweeping along the Netherlands coast and in the approach routes falls under the RNLN tasks. It ensures the safety of Netherlands interests at sea. It also provides for the external defence of the Netherlands Antilles under the Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands by stationing some of its units on the islands already in peacetime. Finally, Search and Rescue operations, fisheries inspection and hydrographic survey are activities to which the Navy is committed under national and international law.

"The Netherlands Navy is also ready to participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations."

Question: Holland always had a big share of world trade which was handled mostly on the sea. Although Holland since 1977 has only been

in the 18th place on the international navigation roster, the world's biggest port in your country, called Europoort, points up the full significance of Holland for Western Europe's seaward imports and exports. Did this position of the Netherlands influence naval planning, and, if yes, what was that influence?

Answer: Because Holland, as you say, presently in fact is only in 18th place on the international shipping roster and because the Dutch population has become less "sea-minded" it is becoming more difficult to convince the Dutch as to the vital interest of international navigation for Holland's economy. The Europoort which you mentioned indeed is of basic existential significance for the Netherlands. This is certainly reflected in our navy plans which indicate that our parliament also recognizes this important concern. I am convinced that it is the task of those, who are daily confronted with the constantly growing might of the Soviet Navy all over the world, to alert responsible Western heads of government to that threat.

Question: Since 1974, the series of administrations in the Netherlands used a Defence Memorandum as the basis for action. Did this Memorandum have fundamental effects on the navy and, if yes, what were they?

Answer: Here are the fundamental consequences of the 1974 Defence Memorandum as far as the Royal Netherlands Navy is concerned:

Operating on the basis of projects spelled out for a span of about 10 years whereby we have the necessary certainty that these projects will be carried out.

Reducing personnel strength. To do be able to do that, we instituted radical reorganization in the navy's shore establishment. It turned out that the desired figures, mentioned in the Defence Memorandum, cannot be achieved, unless we want to downgrade the product which of course is striking power.

Our personnel strength has currently been frozen at 16,800 naval personnel and 6,400 civilian personnel.

The 1974 Defence Memorandum and its on-going implementation guarantee the Dutch maritime contribution which is considered to be a minimum and which has been accepted in the NATO framework.

Question: One of your earlier defense ministers was trying to get a functional distribution of assignments among the NATO partners. He tried to bring about a redistribution of task packages and thus procurement specialization among the NATO partners. Are these efforts still underway today and what is your attitude toward them?

Answer: Our present administration likewise has set itself the goal of the so-called coalition agreement to promote task distribution, rationalization, and standardization in order to increase the effectiveness of the Alliance's defense efforts and to hold the cost rise down.

The Netherlands Navy however has already become extensively specialized, that is to say, it has been concentrating on securing the seelanes and especially on ASW. But submarine hunting can be successful on the ocean only with a combination of frigates equipped with helicopters as well as naval reconnaissance [patrol] aircraft, and submarines.

Question: Holland has a heavily centralized defense management setup; nevertheless, it has preserved the independence of the various armed forces components. Do you believe that this form of organization is correct and good?

Answer: Every organizational form has its advantages and disadvantages. Our present-day defense organization has now been in effect for two years. That is too short a time span to be able to make a final judgment.

Question: If we look at the current and future equipment replacement program of the Royal Netherlands Navy, we arrive at the conclusion that it has a particularly well-balanced makeup, such as, for example, Admiral Gorshkov has stressed it as being a priority matter for every navy. Are you satisfied with this balanced situation or would you improve and supplement it, if it were not for money?

Answer: One can be satisfied with the planned, balanced makeup of the fleet, in which the four components--the naval air, surface, underwater, and amphibious components--are getting their fair share.

But as far as money is concerned: if the Netherlands Navy had unlimited funds available, we would first of all have to correct the existing shortcomings in NATO. As far as the Royal Netherlands Navy is concerned, that would mean more MPAs, two additional submarines, and several frigates. The fleet makeup would be improved by adding two ASW support ships with big helicopters and VSTOL AA and attack aircraft.

Question: Your destroyers and frigates, on the one hand, and your mine-sweeping units, on the other hand, regularly participate in the Standing Naval Force Atlantic and the Standing Naval Force Channel. Do you consider this kind and this scope of joint training in peacetime among NATO navies to be adequate or do you have any proposals as to how one could improve the joint training of identical NATO forces?

Answer: The current makeup of STANAVFORLANT and STANAVFORCHAN is adequate for the primary objective which is to act as "fire brigade" and to show the solidarity among the NATO partners. The establishment of a STANAVFORMED would be accepted with approval.

Question: Are the maritime maneuvers, such as they are currently being carried out by the NATO commands, adequate by way of preparation for joint tactical action among the alliance partners in case of crisis or in case of war?

Answer: The frequency and type of present-day NATO exercises, together with the national exercises, which are likewise based on NATO doctrines and tactics, are sufficient as preparation for the tasks in case of war and for action to be taken in case of crisis.

Question: What can and what should one do, in your opinion, toward the increased standardization of ship and boat classes within NATO or could not the long-range goal of standardization perhaps be replaced by the near-term goal of interoperability with almost the same success?

Answer: When it comes to increased standardization also for surface vessels and submarines within NATO, the best solution would be to continue with the PAPS (Periodic Armaments Planning System).

Bilateral and trilateral contacts however continue to be of great importance; I would like to refer you here to the Dutch standard frigate of the Kortenaer class, the German Fl22 frigates, and the joint French-Belgian-Dutch MCM project. If standardization proves to be impossible in a certain project, then at least interoperability will have to be achieved among the various systems.

Complete standardization by the way is not always desirable, among other things, because it can lead to monopoly positions in the production of armaments.

Question: To what extent could one pool the technical training of naval personnel ashore as preparation for combat assignments on shipboard within NATO? Would that not be a way to achieve greater efficiency or to improve the understanding among partners?

Answer: Pooling the training programs for naval personnel ashore as preparation for combat assignments would make sense within NATO mostly if the same equipment were to be used on shipboard. We should likewise not easily skip over language problems connected with the joint training of shipboard personnel.

Question: The Royal Netherlands Navy assigns strong units for escort duty in the eastern Atlantic as the only navy, except for Great Britain, that is to say, two squadrons, under NATO command. Does that not already express a disproportionately high task distribution in terms of the previously discussed efforts?

Answer: From the Dutch contribution to operations in the EASTLANT area we can detect the significance which Holland assigns to securing the sea-lanes leading to Western Europe and thus also to the Netherlands.

Question: Are your navy's remaining forces sufficient to handle the tasks in your own territorial waters and in the coastal approaches?

Answer: In its planning, the navy starts with the idea that the exits from the Baltic Sea will continue to be held by NATO.

Question: The Royal Netherlands Navy obviously is in a phase of accentuated equipment replacement. What is the ratio between the navy's investment and consumption expenditures against the background of the equipment cost explosion for present-day naval weapons systems?

Answer: In our planning, the operating costs are based on operations management as of the moment the modernized equipment is placed in operation with an average investment percentage of about 39% for the planning interval until the end of 1988.

Question: Is Holland in a position to keep up with the annual defense budget increase of 3%, such as it was agreed upon among NATO partners in 1977?

Answer: Holland showed that it is serious about keeping up with the stipulated defense budget increases. I am thinking here of the allocation of additional funds resulting from the increase of the annual real defense budget rise to 3%, something which is also expressed in the budget of the Royal Netherlands Navy.

Question: The Kortenaer frigate was commissioned a short time ago after thorough testing. Did it prove itself as prototype for the new frigate class? Have the expectations regarding this type been fulfilled?

Answer: I can reply to that question with a very sincere "yes" and with very much joy and great hopes for the future; the tests came off extraordinarily well.

Question: What about the procurement status for new maritime patrol aircraft and for new submarines?

Answer: The cabinet on 8 December decided to order Orions, which are to replace the Neptunes. In June of this year, a contract was signed for the construction of an improved submarine of the Zwaardvis class with an option for a second submarine in 1979.

Question: From various publications one can gather that the Royal Netherlands Navy has in recent times been subjected to personnel cut-backs. How can they be reconciled with the equipment program?

Answer: Our personnel strength will not be further reduced now. We will retain the strength with 16,800 naval personnel and 6,400 civilians.

Since we instituted radical changes in our shore organization and since modern equipment was introduced on board new vessels to a great extent--as the result of which we can sail those ships with smaller crews--we did achieve coordination with the equipment procurement program.

Question: On request of the former defense minister, Mr. H. Vredeling, the armed forces are reported to have been "socialized." What specific measures does that include and what has been their effect in the navy?

Answer: Before one can really say as to whether the armed forces were socialized, we must determine what we mean by that.

Various publications on that topic in recent years show that this concept is not always explained in the same fashion. In the 1974 Defence Memorandum, issued by Minister Vredeling, the definition of the concept "socialization" is clearly given as a process of progressive adjustment of military organization to civilian organization. This means that, when it comes to personnel management, one must seriously take into account that which takes place in a comparable area in civilian society, of course to the extent that this can be reconciled with the special character of the armed forces.

It is not true that the "socialization" of the armed forces was discussed for the first time in connection with the publication of the 1974 Defence Memorandum. The need for a thorough investigation of the relationship between the armed forces and society existed quite some time before that.

In 1972, this led to the founding of the Social Effects on the Armed Forces Guidance Committee, otherwise known as STUMIK (Stuurgroep Maatschappelijke Invloeden Krijgsmacht) which was made up of prominent civilians and military leaders. STUMIK had the mission of investigating the consequences of developments in society as far as the armed forces are concerned and, with the help of the results, drafting a management concept for personnel management and in-house relationships within the defense establishment, both as regards civilian and military personnel.

STUMIK considered the process of the greatest possible equalization as one variant of the entire socialization process. STUMIK considers another variant to reside in the development of the defense organization from a "total," complete, closed institution into a more open organization for the promotion of better mutual understanding. The STUMIK published its final report in September 1977. It describes the existing situation and provides guidelines and recommendations. It contains many valuable data and ideas for discussion on command in the near future. The STUMIK recommendations are not only qualitatively significant but are also impressive in quantitative terms. Early this year, a discussion process was launched for the purpose of enabling the political leadership to adopt positions on all STUMIK recommendations. This process has not yet been completed.

Some STUMIK recommendations however have already been implemented. For example, the philosophy pertaining to career policy in the Personnel Directorate is already being used in the development of career patterns; STUMIK concepts concerning leadership are already being used likewise as

foundation for leadership training being given in officer and PO training courses.

Question: You have 15% draftees in the navy. Is their short-term service sufficient to enable them to become really effective when assigned to a battle station on shipboard in the fleet?

Answer: For our personnel augmentation we use those draftees who have had prior training, the kind of training that can be used in the slots which they are to man in the navy. For supplementary training we then have a briefing course and a short period of on-the-job training tailored to the position they are supposed to fill. This means that we can still responsibly employ draftees even in view of the presently short term of service of 14 months.

It is not true that all draftees are used on shipboard. About one-quarter are used at bases. The others are mostly used in the shore organization, in the lowest rank.

Question: Does the Royal Netherlands Navy have a problem connected with recruiting medium-term extended-service personnel and regular personnel?

Answer: The Netherlands Navy has two categories of volunteers: volunteers with a short term of obligated service of between 4 and 6 years and career personnel with an unlimited service obligation. We have recruitment problems in both categories. These difficulties can be detected most severely in the technical specialities and in the strategic-action units. Due to the good training given to technical personnel, civilian society is very much interested in that type of personnel in spite of what the economic situation is today. This means that the navy's personnel turnover is quite big.

On the labor market as such, occupations "afloat" likewise no longer are attractive enough to persuade a sufficient number of young people readily to decide to join the navy. These young people are not readily inclined any longer to leave their homes. The navy then must make every effort to guarantee commensurate personnel replacements.

Question: In keeping with the NATO community regarding equipment, the German Navy is having warships repaired in Holland. In view of the poor employment situation in the shipbuilding industry, it would certainly be desirable if the Royal Netherlands Navy would do the same thing in Germany in the sense of a reciprocal service. Is there any planning to that effect?

Answer: Between 1971 and today, three small shipyards in the area around the mouth of the Rhine were given the job of repairing six German mine-sweepers within the framework of a minor overhaul program.

For reasons of cost-effectiveness one cannot justify the repair of Dutch naval vessels, containing mostly Dutch (sub-) systems, abroad. Besides,

general overhauls for Dutch naval vessels--with the exception of the submarines and tenders--are being handled by the Den Helder government shipyard on an autonomous management basis.

Question: What support does the Dutch shipbuilding industry get from the navy in international competition to export warships?

Answer: On request, the navy directly provides technical support and operational knowhow on a consultant basis for conferences or negotiations with potential foreign customers. But this kind of support is given only on a cost-billing basis.

The navy furthermore participates in projects which arose from a multilateral effort, such as the tripartite MCM contract with Belgium and France.

The navy indirectly supports industry by seeing to it that it will be represented on national and international exhibits.

For example, during the November 1978 "EUROPOORT'78" exhibit in Amsterdam, the most important construction and supplier industries were grouped around a centrally positioned booth of the Royal Netherlands Navy; this expressed the significance of the shipbuilding industry as far as the navy is concerned and its economic relations with the navy.

Question: The creation of 200-nm economic zones on the sea is about to take place. Will their surveillance and the protection of the offshore equipment located there be handled by the navy itself or by other government organizations and with what?

Answer: The surveillance and protection of exploration and exploitation facilities on the Dutch portion of the continental shelf in the North Sea are included in the missions of the Royal Netherlands Navy.

Even after the creation of 200-nm economic zone, the tasks of the Netherlands will probably be confined to the boundaries of the Dutch continental shelf.

Problems of surveillance and protection of the drilling platforms are currently being studied within NATO.

Long-range naval reconnaissance aircraft and helicopter-equipped frigates will play an important role in the execution of protection and surveillance assignments.

Question: On 31 May 1978, the NATO heads of state and government approved a long-term defense program in Washington. At the same time, NATO commands were instructed to draft a new naval strategy concept because of the changed situation. What special discoveries and proposals are you going to have to contribute here?

Answer: On the basis of the above-mentioned study, we are drafting a maritime operations concept for the eighties. We are not so much talking in terms of a changed situation; the buildup and worldwide employment of Soviet capacity have been reality for a number of years now.

Considering the globe-girdling implications, it has always been an accepted fact for the Netherlands that maritime strategy cannot be studied within the framework of a limited NATO area.

Partly for this reason, the Royal Netherlands Navy, in connection with the initial approach to this study, assigned a special staff officer to SACLANT.

In general one can say that maritime strategy should be contemplated in a worldwide context. But here it is possible to make sure that maritime forces--precisely by virtue of their flexibility--will wherever possible concentrate especially on previously determined operational areas.

Question: Could you visualize a situation in which NATO naval forces would go into action outside the treaty area, for example, in the South Atlantic, if the supply situation of Western Europe or the United States would seem to indicate such action?

Answer: As you know, SACLANT has been given permission to examine the possibilities of a "contingency plan" south of the Tropic of Cancer.

That has nothing to do with an expansion of the NATO area; instead it is connected with the fact that one cannot draw any sharp dividing lines on the oceans. It makes no sense to draw up plans for securing, for example, the oil supply lines that are essential to the West, if tankers can be sunk already outside the NATO area.

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CSO:3103

GUINEA-BISSAU PURCHASES TEXTILES

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Jul 79 p 3

[Text] Guinea-Bissau recently ordered textiles from several mills in the northern part of the country at a value of about \$8 million (400,000 contos). The imports will be financed through lines of credit made available by the firms themselves.

Shipping of the orders began as early as June. They are intended to supply the so-called rural market, this being considered vital in order to discourage the peasants from selling their products in neighboring countries.

The reason is that after the harvests, the peasants normally tend to use their resulting income to buy clothing. If it is not available on the national market, they will go buy it in the neighboring countries, where they will also sell their products.

Portugal has also granted Guinea-Bissau 30 more scholarships, thus raising the number to 270. Guinea-Bissau has fully utilized its scholarships, especially for middle-level and higher training and for professional training programs.

In addition, a technical mission from the National Civil Engineering Laboratory went to Bissau, where it made an expert evaluation of the commercial wharf's structure, the purpose being to determine the possibility of extending the wharf.

Guinea-Bissau has a project for extending the said wharf by an additional 100 meters, but the state commissioner of transportation decided to request a technical opinion from the National Civil Engineering Laboratory concerning the feasibility of the construction work. In the opinion of engineer Artur Ravara, who along with engineer Fernando Abcassis made up the mission, the condition of the structure is such that its extension will be possible after a number of preliminary repairs have been made.

It is also possible that as a result of Commander Cabral Almada's recent visit to Portugal, the Portuguese Air Force will provide assistance to its sister branch of the Guinea-Bissau Armed Forces.

In the statements he made on returning to his country, the commander of the Guinea-Bissau Air Force said that the matter had been discussed in Lisbon, but he did not provide any details.

Commander Cabral Almada, who was the first Guinea-Bissau military leader to visit Portugal, also said that he was "very highly impressed" by his contacts with the chiefs of staff of Portugal's Armed Forces and by his visits to the airbases.

11798

CSO: 3101

INDUSTRIAL FIRMS HARD HIT BY LACKLUSTER ECONOMY

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 21 Jul 79 p 14

[Text] Bankruptcies in 1978 probably increased by about 37.3 percent over 1977 in terms of the number of units covered by subsequent declaratory judgments and by 66.7 percent in terms of the capital stock involved. This is according to data released by COSEC (Credit Insurance Company).

"The prospect of a deterioration, which had been announced in several circles, is being confirmed." That is the conclusion reached by experts at that specialized insurance company. They call attention, however, to the fact that the available data concerning bankruptcies do not permit a thoroughgoing analysis of the problem (the findings are based on reports in the DIARIO DA REPUBLICA, besides which there is a time lag between the actual "commercial breakdown" and the declaratory judgment). By the middle of this year, moreover, more bankruptcy decrees relating to 1978 will probably be published.

Textile Industry Hardest Hit

By sector, the 81 bankruptcies already verified for 1978 (there were 59 in 1977) involved capital stock totaling at least 140,000 contos. They affected chiefly the processing industry (39.5 percent) (primarily textiles, clothing, and leather), followed by trade (21 percent). In comparison with the data for 1977, therefore, we see a trend toward improvement in trade but a worsening situation in the processing industry. Attention should be drawn, however, to the great importance assumed by the miscellaneous group "other unspecified sectors," a factor that certainly makes it difficult to balance the relative analysis. From the geographical standpoint, it is important to emphasize that the firms affected by declaratory judgments of bankruptcy are concentrated in the Porto District. According to COSEC, "this may be due in part to the fact that the bankrupt textile firms are located in that district."

The fact is that Porto reported 31 of the 81 bankruptcies tracked down for 1978 (the equivalent of 38.3 percent, compared to 32.2 percent in 1977). Next in line was the Lisbon District with 24 judgments in each of the 2 years. Braga was in third place with eight bankruptcies in 1977 and five in 1978.

The remaining firms covered by bankruptcy decrees "are distributed almost equally among the other districts." It should be noted that bankruptcies last year occurred in almost every zone of the country. This was the reverse of what happened in 1977, when declaratory judgments of bankruptcy were recorded for only 9 of the 17 districts.

Table 1
Bankruptcies: Sectors Hardest Hit

(1) Sectores de actividade	1977			1978		
	N.º	%	(2) Capital social (1)	N.º	%	(2) Capital social (1)
Total	59	100.0	84 384	81	100.0	140 688
Pescas (3)	1	1.7	6 000	1	1.2	10 000
4) Transformadoras	20	33.9	44 110	32	39.5	67 378
5) Alimentação, bebidas e tabaco	2	3.4	7 000	3	3.7	15 600
6) Têxteis, vestuário e couro	15	25.4	22 110	22	27.2	32 578
7) Madeira e cortiça	1	1.7	5 000	1	1.2	10 000
8) Papel	2	3.4	10 000	3	3.7	2 000
9) Metálicos e material de transporte...	—	—	—	3	3.7	7 200
Construção ... (10)	6	10.2	4 584	—	—	—
Comércio (11)	15	25.4	43 440	17	21.0	60 950
Transportes .. (12)	3	5.1	16 250	1	1.2	2 360
Outras n. d. .. (13)	14	23.7	(14) n. d.	30	37.0	(14) n. d.

Key:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Sector of activity | 8. Paper |
| 2. Capital stock (in 1,000's of escudos) | 9. Metals and transportation equipment |
| 3. Fishing | 10. Construction |
| 4. Processing industry | 11. Trade |
| 5. Food, beverages, and tobacco | 12. Transportation |
| 6. Textiles, clothing, and leather | 13. Other unspecified sectors |
| 7. Wood and cork | 14. Not available |

Source: DIARIO DA REPUBLICA

Table 2
Bankruptcies: Regional Distribution

(1) District	1977			1978		
	N.*	% (2)	Capital social (1)	N.*	% (2)	Capital social (1)
Total	59	100,0	84 384	81	100,0	140 688
Aveiro	—	—	—	2	2,5	400
Braga	8	13,6	4 000	5	6,2	4 900
Bragança	1	1,7	n. d.	1	1,2	2 360
Beja	—	—	—	1	1,2	200
Castelo Branco ..	—	—	—	2	2,5	5 800
Coimbra	2	3,4	n. d.	1	1,2	1 000
Évora	—	—	—	1	1,2	15 000
Faro	2	3,4	6 000	3	3,7	500
Guarda	—	—	—	2	2,5	250
Lisboa (3)	24	40,7	56 834	24	29,6	19 900
Leiria	—	—	—	1	1,2	n. d.
Portalegre	1	1,7	n. d.	—	—	—
Porto	19	32,2	16 740	31	38,3	80 274
Santarém	—	—	—	4	4,9	10 000
Viana do Castelo	1	1,7	600	—	—	—
Viseu	1	1,7	210	—	—	—
Madeira-Funchal	—	—	—	3	3,7	n. d.

Key:

- 1. District
- 2. Capital stock (in 1,000's of escudos)
- 3. Lisbon
- n.d. = not available

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